

(Revised 1/3/11)

Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
17 OCT 25 PM 4: 27

Form RE-2

Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from travel. Submit all forms to the Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.

In compliance with Rube reimbursed/paid for	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	<u> </u>	sures with respect to	travel expenses that have been or wil
☐ The <u>original</u> <i>Emplo</i>	yee Pre-Travel Autho	rization (Form RE-1), E rtification Form with all		y, invitce list, etc.)
	The Aspen In	stitute, Inc. (Congre	ssional Program)	
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☑ Good Faith	\$1,550	\$537	\$210	\$137
Estimate				meeting room expenses
☐ Actual Amount				
Expenses for Accomp		pendent Child (if applie	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
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☑ Good Faith Estimate				
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Provide a description necessary.):	of all meetings and ev	ents attended. See Senat	e Rule 35.2(c)(6). (A	ttach additional pages if
See attached age	nda	<u></u>		
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TO BE COMPLETED	BY SUPERVISING	MEMBER/OFFICER:	V	
		es set out above in connection, lodging, and related		cribed in the <i>Employee Fire-Travel</i> in Rule 35.
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(Revised 10/19/15)

Date/Time Stamp:

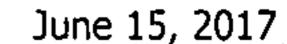
ETHIC SEP 5'17pm 1:30

Form RE-1

EMPLOYEE PRE-TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

<u>Pre-Travel Filing Instructions</u>: Complete and submit this form at least 30 days prior to the travel departure date to the Select Committee on Ethics in SH-220. Incomplete and late travel submissions will <u>not</u> be considered or approved. This form <u>must</u> be typed and is available as a fillable PDF on the Committee's website at ethics.senate.gov. Retain a copy of your entire pre-travel submission for your required post-travel disclosure.

	' James Gregory Mazol
Name of Traveler:	Senator Roger F. Wicker
Employing Office/Committee:	
Private Sponsor(s) (list all):	en Institute, Inc.
October 9- October	13 2017
Travel date(s): Note: If you plan to extend the	13, 2017 e trip for any reason you <u>must</u> notify the Committee.
Warsaw, Poland Destination(s):	•
	onnected to the traveler's official or representational duties:
recommendations to the Senator on Eu	Advisor, James Mazol is responsible for providing research and analytical support and ropean security issues including Poland, Russia, and NATO. The trip agenda will provide ng of these issues through its series of meetings with experts. Senator Wicker is a senior ttee and Chairman of the U.S. Congressional Delegation to the Helsinki Commission.
Name of accompanying family members Relationship to Employee: Spouse	er (if any):
I certify that the information contained 9/5/20/7 (Date)	d in this form is true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge: (Signature of Employee)
TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISING Secretary for the Majority, Secretary for	NG SENATOR/OFFICER (President of the Senate, Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, the Minority, and Chaplain):
I, ZOOEV F. Wicker J(Print Senator's/Officer's No.	hereby authorize James G. Mazo (Print Traveler's Name)
related expenses for travel to the ever duties as a Senate employee or an off private gain.	sion, to accept payment or reimbursement for necessary transportation, lodging, and nt described above. I have determined that this travel is in connection with his or her ficeholder, and will not create the appearance that he or she is using public office for
I have also determined that the attend of the Senate. (signify "yes" by checking Q = 5 - 17	MATINA
(Date)	(Signature of Supervising Senator/Officer)





Dan Glickman

Executive Director

Congressional Program

James Mazol National Security Advisor Sen. Roger Wicker US Senate Washington, DC 20510

Dear James:

I would like to invite you to participate in a conference designed exclusively for the educational benefit of a bipartisan, bicameral group of senior congressional staff focusing on *European Security and Russian Assertiveness: Challenges for U.S. Policy* in Warsaw, Poland October 9-13, 2017 (including travel to and from Washington).

We have assembled a group of outstanding scholars from Warsaw, Berlin, Moscow, Kyiv, Riga, Brussels and Sofia to enhance the discussions. Matt Rojansky, Director of the Kennan Institute at the Wilson Center, will participate as well.

Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, press, or lobbyists. Funding for this project is provided by grants from the Henry Luce Foundation, the Democracy Fund, the MacArthur Foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund —no government, individual, foreign, corporate or special interest funds are accepted. We will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does not hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

Departure will be on Monday, October 9th and we will return to the U.S. on Friday, October 13th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate throughout the duration of the conference. Your expenses, including airfare, lodging and meals, will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation.

Additionally, we have luncheon meetings throughout the year for congressional staff with speakers on public policy challenges. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of this series. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Melissa Neal at 202-736-3858. I hope you will be able to join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Dan Glickman

One Dupont Circle, NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20036-1133

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org

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PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should NOT submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

1.	Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2.	An extensive analysis of Eurepean security concerns and Russian Description of the trip assertiveness and the impact on U.S. foreign policy.
3	Dates of travel. Oct. 9, 2017 - Oct. 12, 2017
4.	Place of travel: Warsaw, Poland
5.	Name and title of Senate invitees: see attached list
6.	I certify that the trip fits one of the following categories: (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip. -OR-
	(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).
7	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal. - AND -
	I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions carmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8.	l certify that: The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for de minimis lobbyist involvement. - AND -
	The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

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	I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:
	(A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip.
	(B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
10	
	If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:
	#*
11.	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I certify that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.
12.	Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and developed
	the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants
_	
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:
	Aspen institute's Congressional Program (AICP) is a property fit organization and the best to
	conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas, on issues impacting the United States and the world. The Aspen Institute Congressional Program's conference in Warsaw, Poland is for
	construction members to take an in-depth look at European security. Bussian assertium on
	the impact on US foreign policy.
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program has a 34-year history of conducting non-partisan education
	forums for members of Congress.
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issue. One congression	onal staff conference per	r year is offered on a	key foreign of dom	
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,	Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:				
	Lodgine and meats are both under the published per diem for the time period.				
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	Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:				
	Coach class flights on commercial airline carrier				
	I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not includ expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).				
	List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:				
	None				
	I hereby certify that the information contained berdin is true, complete and correct. (You must include the completed signature block below for high travel sporeors): Signature of Travel Sponsor: Dan Glickman, Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Progra				
	Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)				
	Address: 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036				
	Telephone Number: 202-736-5859 (Lisa Jones)				
	Fax Number:				
	lisa.jones@aspeninst.org				

Answer to Question 5 on the Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form

The invitees reflect a bipartisan delegation representing different geographical areas of the country, having various committee assignments with relevance to policy issues dealing with foreign policy. These Senate staffers have an interest in deeper analysis with the benefit of American and international scholars.

Allyson Bell, Chief of Staff, Senator Mike Lee

Sarah Benzing, Chief of Staff, Senator Sherrod Brown

Thomas Callahan, Senior Professional Staff, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Jessica Elledge, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Chris Murphy

Rosie Heiss, Senior Advisor, Senator Mark Warner

Ryan Kaldahl, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Susan Collins

Rob Leonard, National Security Advisor, Senator Dick Durbin

Maria Mahler-Haug, Military Legislative Assistant, Senator Michael Bennet

Tom Mancinelli, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Chris Coons

James Mazol, National Security Advisor, Senator Roger Wicker

Phil McGovern, Senior National Security Policy Advisor, Senator Ed Markey

Rick Nussio, Professional Staff Member, Senate Intelligence Committee

Ben Purser, Senator Foreign Relations Committee, Professional Staff Member

Cooper Reveley, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Jack Reed

Chris Slevin, Legislative Director, Senator Cory Booker

Chris Socha, Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Senator Jim Risch

Jessica Philips Tyson, Legislative Assistant, Senator Lindsey Graham

Lydia Westlake, Homeland Security Legislative Assistant, Senator Ron Johnson

Ben Widness, Senior Advisor for Defense & Foreign Policy, Senator Ron Wyden

Robert Zarate, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Senator Marco Rubio

Appendix to Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form

Aspen Institute Congressional Program – European Security and Russian Assertiveness – Oct. 9-13, 2017

Question 1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors) – The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Aspen Institute is the sole sponsor of this European Security and Assertiveness of Russia conference. The organization has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip.

Question 14. On occasion, other policy and public programs of the Aspen Institute sponsor trips that involve members of Congress or congressional staff.

Question 15. The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

Question 16.

Daily breakdown of meeting room expenses for the per person total of \$137:

Oct. 10 - \$45.67

Oct. 11 - \$45.67

Oct. 12 - \$45.67

EUROPEAN SECURITY & RUSSIAN ASSERTIVENESS: CHALLENGES FOR U.S. POLICY

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM CONGRESSIONAL STAFF CONFERENCE October 9-13, Warsaw, Poland

MONDAY, October 9:

James Mazol and Congressional staff participants depart Washington, DC at 6:10 pm on Air France 55.

TUESDAY, October 10:

Congressional staff participants arrive in Warsaw at 11:55 am on Air France #1146.

1:30-2:30 pm

Luncheon remarks

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

Dan Glickman, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Dan Glickman will introduce the scholars for the "European Security & Russian Assertiveness: Challenges for U.S. Policy" conference and briefly outline their expertise. The conference was designed to incorporate scholarship from the entire region, including Poland, Germany, Russia, Latvia, Italy and Hungary. Glickman will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized and how responses will be timed to allow for as many questions and answers as possible. This format is especially important to guarantee full participation with so many knowledgeable and experienced people around the table, not only the speakers on each panel.

3:00-5:00 pm

Walking Educational Site Visit

WARSAW'S HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

WWII'S IMPACT AND RELEVANCE FOR U.S. POLICY

Slawomir Debski, Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw, will lead an educational visit to Warsaw's historic 13th Century Old Town, with an accompanying briefing on historical issues. This presentation will describe the security environment that contributes significantly to the political framework in Poland. During the Invasion of Poland (1939), much of the district was badly damaged by the German Luftwaffe, which targeted the city's residential areas and historic landmarks in a campaign of terror bombing. Following the Siege of Warsaw, parts of the Old Town were rebuilt, but immediately after the Warsaw Uprising (August–October 1944) what had been left standing was systematically blown up by the German Army. After World War II, the Old Town was meticulously rebuilt. Warsaw hosted the 2016 NATO summit, which was the main forum for NATO governments to determine their ongoing response to Russian aggression in Ukraine, and potential

challenges from Russia in the wider Baltic region. This physical place offers reminders and symbols of each of the key historical developments that have shaped the European security landscape today. This briefing will provide Senate staff with an understanding of the unique place of this city in the history of Cold War and post-Cold War tensions between Russia and the West. This is important for understanding U.S. security priorities not just with Poland, but with Europe as a whole.

5:00 pm

WARSAW WILL NOT FORGET

We will have a group screening of this documentary film of Poland's struggle during WWII which depicts with dramatic footage the nearly total devastation that Warsaw suffered in WWII. This will provide Senate staff a historical backdrop to current Polish attitudes about European security.

5:30 pm

Pre-dinner remarks

SETTING THE STAGE: WHY EUROPEAN SECURITY AND RUSSIAN ASSERTIVENESS IS A CHALLENGE FOR U.S. POLICY

Matthew Rojansky, Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center Matthew Rojansky will offer some initial observations regarding Russian policy decision-making and priorities, which are relevant for understanding current U.S. policy challenges with Russia. He will address the latest rounds of U.S. sanctions and Russian counter-sanctions, and their impacts on various aspects of the relationship, as well as the most recent Russian military exercise in the region, Zapad 2017, and the NATO exercise, Dragon 17. Finally, he will give a report on the state of U.S.-Russia relations as seen from Moscow based on his visit to Russia in late September.

6:00-8:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and Congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on European security and Russian assertiveness and the challenges for U.S. policy.

WEDNESDAY, October 11:

Breakfast for all participants 7:30-9:00 am

9:00 am

Roundtable Discussions

THE STATE OF THE U.S.-RUSSIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

U.S.-Russia relations appear to be at their lowest point for decades, with little prospect of improvement in the near term. Continuing tensions over Ukraine, Syria and other global issues have been exacerbated by allegations that Russia "hacked" the 2016 U.S. election. Yet the relationship between Moscow and Washington is arguably the single most consequential bilateral relationship for U.S. and global security. Are the two countries set on an inevitable "collision course" in their respective foreign policies, dictated by divergent national interests and worldviews, or is the current impasse more a function of specific policy disagreements or tensions between stakeholders?

- What are Russia's national interests? What are Russia's aspirations for its role in the world?
- How do Russia's perceptions of its national interests affect
 Russia's policy toward the U.S., the European Union, former
 Soviet states? Does Russia view the U.S. and its European
 neighbors as threats?
- What are the risks of continued or deepening U.S.-Russia conflict?
- How does each side perceive the role of "hacking" and "cyber attacks" during the 2016 U.S. election and how does this impact core foreign policy concerns?
 - What kind of U.S. policies are likely to lead to an outcome where Russia is less of a threat and/or adversary?

David Herszenhorn, former New York Times Moscow correspondent, European correspondent for POLITICO, Brussels Andrei Sushentsov, Program Director, Valdai Discussion Club Foundation, Moscow

10:30 am THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC POLITICS

Under Western sanctions and formal diplomatic isolation since the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis in 2014, Russia has suffered economic decline exacerbated by low global energy and commodity prices and its own lack of structural reform. On several occasions this year alone, thousands of young Russians have turned out in protest against official corruption, in cities across the country. Yet the Russian economy appears set to recover ground in 2017, and Russia's government has not suffered the negative political consequences that many Western experts predicted. For President Vladimir Putin, who remains consistently popular, the signs all point to yet another successful "managed election" in March 2018, allowing him to legally stay in power through 2024.

- What is the national mood in Russia today, and what are people's main concerns?
 What is the state of the Russian media, civil society, and independent political activity?
 What is the role of nationalism and the politics of historical memory/mythology in Russian politics?
- Is Russia effectively isolated as a result of Western sanctions?
 How has it pursued non-Western economic relationships and developed new trading blocs as an alternative?

- Is Russia a state in decline or a rising global power? What are Russia's aspirations regarding its role in the world?
- What is the explanation for Vladimir Putin's continuing high popularity? Is it appropriate to think in terms of the longevity of the "Putin system"?

Kirill Rogov, Senior Researcher, Liberal Mission Foundation, Moscow Gwendolyn Sasse, Director, Center for East European and International Studies, Berlin

Noon-2:00 pm

Luncheon Remarks

CAN RUSSIA EVER BE A DEMOCRACY?

Ivan Krastev, Chair, Center for Liberal Studies, Sofia

Ivan Krastev has written extensively on Russian domestic politics as well as Russian-European-U.S. relations. He will address the central question of whether a positive change in Russia's domestic politics is possible or likely, and what if any role the U.S.-Russia relationship plays in that. He will also offer his own perspective on Russian decision-making, and assess whether and how the kinds of incentives and punishments imposed by Western governments are likely to influence Russian policy.

2:00-5:00 pm EDUCATIONAL SITE VISIT TO THE POLIN MUSEUM

Dariusz Stola, Director of the Museum of the History of Polish Jews (POLIN), which just opened two years ago, will lead us on an educational visit to this narrative museum with an accompanying presentation on the 1,000-year history of Polish Jews. The museum is the first public-private partnership in Poland, created jointly by the government, the local government, and a non-governmental organization, and its mission is to recall and preserve the memory of the history of Polish Jews and to contribute to the mutual understanding and respect amongst Poles and Jews as well as other societies of Europe and the world. Before the outbreak of World War II, more than 3.3 million Jews lived in Poland, the largest Jewish population of Europe and second largest Jewish community in the world. After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, ghettos were established in Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, Radom and Lvov. By 1942, all Polish Jews were either confined to ghettos or hiding; more than half a million lived in Warsaw's ghetto. Barely 11 percent of Poland's Jews - 369,000 - survived the war. The POLIN Museum is part of a Jewish revival that has occurred since the fall of communism in Poland. The POLIN museum is the single most important museum related to the experience of Jews in Europe over the last century. This briefing will help Senate staff understand how the Jewish experience has shaped public perceptions in Europe, especially among Americans with family ties to the region. That continues to be true, especially today, when the experience of religious minorities (Jews, Muslims, Roma, and others) is a major factor in U.S. policies towards Russia, Poland, and other regional states.

 7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and Congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on European security and Russian assertiveness and the challenges for U.S. policy.

THURSDAY, October 12:

6 am

James Mazol departs Warsaw at 6 am on KLM 1362 and arrives in

Washington, DC at 3:35 pm on KLM 651